DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 128 124 RC 009 387

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TITLE Rural Youth--An Opportunity or a Burden?
REPORT NO Sem-15
PUB DATE Aug 76
NOTE 28p.; Paper presented at Seminar 15, "Rural Youth: Human Resource or Human Burden?" of the World Congress of Rural Sociology (4th, Torun, Poland, August 1976). Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Attitudes; Definitions; Developing Nations; *Educational Needs; Equal Education; Industrialization; Manpower Needs; Rural Population; *Rural to Urban Migration; *Rural Urban Differences; *Rural Youth; *Technological Advancement; Values
IDENTIFIERS *Poland; *World Congress of Rural Sociology (4th)

ABSTRACT

When evaluating the potential of a developing nation's rural youth, a distinction must be made between youth living in the countryside and those of rural origin migrating to the cities. Moreover, consideration must be given to the effect of: geographical mobility upon national development requirements; rural vertical mobility upon the modernization and democratization of the social structure; and the rural mentality and skill level upon the larger society. In the development of a country there is an initial extensive period followed by an intensive period, the former requiring manpower and the latter requiring skills. In Poland, there is currently a higher than average number of rural migrants working in the building materials industry (16.6%), the wood industry (18.2%), and public roads (32.6%). In 1970, among these rural to urban migrants, 14.4% were manual laborers, 8.7% intellectual workers, and 5.5% handicraft laborers. These figures indicate that upgraded schools are needed in the rural areas to accommodate the sophisticated skills demanded by technological development in the cities. While studies have indicated attitudinal differences between rural and urban youth, these differences are not nearly so important as the educational differences manifest in knowledge and skill differentials, for these differences impact upon the total qualitative development of Poland's economy. (JC)

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RURAL YOUTH–AN OPPORTUNITY OR A BURDEN?

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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RC009387

Warsaw 1976

FOURTH WORLD CONGRESS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

NINTH EUROPEAN CONGRESS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

August 9-13, 1976

Torun, Poland

THEME:

The Integrated Development of Human and Natural Resources: The Contribution of Rural Sociology

Seminar 15: Rural Youth: Human Resource or Human Burden?

That is the way how the subject of the studies of one of the sections of the Congress of the Sociology of the Village in Toruń /August 1976/ was formulated. This was not only a provocating, but also so ambiguous a formulation that it is worth while, at the beginning, to explain some notions precisely[1].

Rural youth - countryside youth, youth of rural origin.

Now, first of all the notion itself of rural youth is not too clear. It may mean either that part of youth which, irrespective of the parents' profession, was born and educated and is inhabiting the countryside, or only that part of young people whose parents are farmers. More precisely, this narrower category should be called "agricultural" or "peasant youth", in contradistinction to "rural youth" among which also representatives of the intelligentsia, white-collar workers, craftsmen and workers may be found. A still much wider meaning may be imparted to the notion "rural youth" including not only that part of youth inhabiting at present the countryside, but also all those who recently abandoned the countryside and only "come from the village", as at the moment when the investigations are carried out they are already permanent residents of the cities. Such a notion of "rural youth" is used e.g. by those

[1] By choice, in the present paper I base on Polish data. In order to facilitate to the reader the proper reception of the further remarks, it ought to be stated that the agriculture talked about here is constituted in 80% of individual peasant farms. The including of this agriculture into the system of the planned socialist economy is carried out by a number of instrumental and partial undertakings /state contract purchasing, sales and purchases cooperatives, unitary purchase prices etc./, without, however, changing the soil property relations. The majority of the economy apart from agriculture is socialist planned economy. Employment policy is based on the principle of full employment, and the right to work is the right of every citizen formulated by the constitution. The whole educational system is free of charge on all ranks of teaching. Rendering equal the living opportunities and the material and cultural conditions is the fundamental principle of the social development.

researchers who investigate the adjustment processes of emigrants from the countryside to work in the industry and to inhabit urbanised centres. Of the 33 million inhabitants of Poland in 1970 more than 63 per cent, and 34,8 per cent of the 17 million inhabitants of cities were born in the countryside /1, p. 182/.

However, even for the apparently most homogeneous group of "rural" or "peasant youth" the situation becomes complicated because of the appearance of an intermediary category of "industrial-and-agricultural youth" or "farmer-worker youth" which in Poland amounts to 35 per cent of the youth whose parents work a farm. There is no doubt that the adoption of every one of the supplied conceptions of "rural youth" exerts an influence on the social importance of the problem.

Let us try, on the basis of Polish materials, to define the differences in quantitative parameters of the problem with every one of the above formulated notions for rural youth. Thus, among 3.5 million young people, 15 to 19 years old/in 1970/, 53.6 per cent lived and learned or worked in the countryside. The same percentage for the age class of 20 to 24 years amounted to 49.2 per cent /2/. It may thus be said that, analysing the problem of "rural youth" in the first meaning, we analyse the situation of one half of Polish youth.

The social range of the notion of "rural youth" differs. In that very year 1970 among 3.5 million youth aged 15-19 years there were in Poland only 29.4 per cent of agricultural youth. The same percentage for the age class of 20-24 years amounted in the same year 1970 to still less, as it was 20.3 per cent. In this case the conclusions concerning "agricultural youth" include no more than one fifth - one fourth of Polish youth in total /2, p.62 and foll/.

In the countries in which the process of urbanisation is much more advanced than in Poland, the respective percentages of "rural" and "agricultural youth" are still much more divergent. For instance in the United States in 1970, apart from such states as California, Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, where the rural population amounted to less than 20 per cent, there were also such states, as Arkansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, South Dakota, Virginia, where the rural population amounted to 51-61 per cent. At the same time the

share of agricultural population did not exceed 14 per cent in some states, and in the whole of the United States it amounted to 4 per cent /3, p.245 and foll/.

It is the opposite in developing countries. In the seventies the percentage of rural population amounted in Bangladesh to 94.8 per cent, in People's China - to 85.4 per cent, in India - to nearly 80 per cent, etc. /4/. In Europe the following countries have the highest percentages of rural population: Yugoslavia /61.4%/ and Portugal /77.3%/ /5, p.549/. Because of the higher number of children in rural families, the corresponding percentages for rural youth will, of course, be higher. But even in the least urbanised countries the percentage of agricultural population /and by the same, that of agricultural youth/ is, as a rule, lower than the percentage of rural population /youth/. The smallest differences occur in the Third World countries, the greatest ones - in Europe.

When summing up the statistical information on the size of the problem of rural youth, as shown only by the coefficient of the share of the inhabitants od villages in the total numbers of the population, and by the share of people employed in agriculture in the total numbers of people employed, it may for the seventies of the 20th century be presented as in table 2.

Table 1. Share of the rural population and of its part earning its living in agriculture in the total population of some countries

Countries	Percentage of rural population	Percentage of the population earning its living in agriculture	Percentage of professionally active persons working in agriculture
India	79.8	67.7	72.0
Jugoslavia	61.4	47.0	44.6
Portugal	77.3	40.3	29.6

Source: Statistical Yearbook 1975. GUS, Warsaw 1975, p.549 and 561.

Table 2. Share of rural and agricultural population in 1950-1970 /% of total population/

Specification	Rural population[a] in the years			Agricultural population[b] in 1970
	1950	1960	1970	
The world	72	67	62	51.2
Europe	47	42	37	19.3
USSR	61	51	44	31.9
Asia	84	80	75	65.3
Africa	86	82	78	69.5
North America	39	30	25	4.7
Central and South America	59	51	46	41.6
Australia and Oceania	44	36	32	22.1

Source: [a] T.Stpiczyński - Migracje wewnętrzne ludności w niektórych krajach /Internal migrations of population in some countries/. GUS, Warsaw 1975, p. 19.

[b] UN - Demographic trends in the World and its major regions 1950-1970.

The enclosed elementary statistical figures show that the range and weight of the problem of rural youth differ extremely in various countries; moreover, everywhere the numbers of youth inhabiting the countryside are higher, and often much higher than the numbers of youth from agricultural families and, finally, that according to the degree of socio-economic development and the urbanisation level, agricultural youth amounts from three fourths to one sixth of rural youth. Such a differentiation occurs not only between the great regions of the world, or between single countries, but also between regions of the same country.

Personally I presume that the share of agricultural population in the rural population should be considered an important index of the level of socio-economic development, although, of course, it illustrates other matters than the coefficient, most often used in comparative statistics, of the share of the population living in the countryside - in the whole national population, or else the share

of people employed in agriculture in the very population of professionally active people. Whereas the first coefficient illustrates mainly the degree of formal urbanisation, conceived as the fact of a population inhabiting areas classified as "urban", and the second - illustrates mainly the level of indistrialisation, measured by the coefficient of persons employed in industry, then - the coefficient of agricultural population, proposed by us, in the population living in the countryside measures the same processes, in the wider meaning of the two terms; our coefficient offers a yardstick of the "urbanisation" occurring without the villages being abandoned by their inhabitants. It indicates also the "industrialisation" occurring also when no new industrial plants are erected in the countryside. On its basis it may be concluded to what an extent the modernising processes /of urbanisation and industrialisation/, occurring mainly in cities, somehow indirectly and at a distance, transform the rural reality. As the countryside is /at least at the beginning of the development/ most recalcitrant against modernisation, this index measures the attained degree of development /cyvilisation, economic and cultural/ homogenisation of countryside and cities, which is the final purpose of an integrated and harmonious development of any country.

In Poland, for instance, in 1970, among all 15-year-old youths leaving the 8-grade school in the countryside those of agricultural origin amounted to 55.3 per cent, workers' children 34 per cent, and the children of white-coller workers and of craftsman - 10.7 per cent. At the same time we had highly developed voivodships /provinces/, such as those of Katowice, Wrocław or Opole, where in rural schools workers' children amounted to over 50 per cent, and we had also weakly developed, such as those of Białystok or Lublin, where there were less than 15 per cent of such children.

This coefficient may be useful in particular for developing countries in which, as it was shown by UNO analyses, the diminishing percentage of people deriving their living from agriculture is often accompanied by an increase in their absolute numbers, and migration processes only weaken the pace of growth of the agricultural population, but they do, however, not reduce its numbers. This means that in these cases the migrations do not solve the rural pro-

blems, but they render more troublesome /when they are excessive/ the situation in the cities /6, p. 77/.

Thus, if we have to analyse rural youth as a burden or an opportunity, it is obvious that the size of this burden or of this opportunity will be quite different in countries where the numbers of this social category makes of it the fundamental social problem, than in a country where it is a minority group. More yet, when we consider this problem on the scale of only one country we may find regions where its skilful solution exerts an influence on the general development of the regions, and other ones in which this problem has already been solved or else at least such or another solution of the problem will exert no greater influence on the development of the region.

Also only in those countries in which the collective of the "rural youth" is very numerous and it is to a considerable extent identical with the category of "peasant youth", these notions can be identified with each other and they can be considered jointly whether they are an "opportunity" or a "burden". As we have seen it earlier, it will be like this mainly in developing countries and in exceptional /backward/ regions of developed countries. In all other cases the formulation of the dilemma: "opportunity or burden" has a meaning mainly in relation to "peasant youth", as it does not seem that the situation of a white-collar worker, an industrial worker or a craftsman would fundamentally differ, only because of the fact that he lives in a village, from the situation, level and mode of thinking of white-collar workers, industrial workers etc. living in cities. As a matter of fact both the ones and the others migrate from the countryside to the cities, but the peasant youth is a much more specific group and one much more specific and intellectually, culturally and by its habits more singled out. When the so important a branch of national economy as agriculture is deprived of manpower, this induces serious economic perturbations in the whole of a country, such as a migration of white-collar workers or of industrial workers from the countryside is not capable of inducing on such a scale.

Our investigations /e.g. those by Zbigniew Kwieciński /7/ on the intellectual level of countryside school pupils have shown that the level of education of the parents or their appurtenance to a

certain /agricultural or non-agricultural/ socio-professional group defined much more markedly the intellectual level and that of knowledge and also the further career at school of a pupil than the very fact of his inhabiting the countryside or in a city. It was like that in spite of the fact that the ones and the others were educated in rural schools which like everywhere have poorer work conditions, a poorer equipment and a lower level of teaching.

Opportunity - for what? A burden - for whom?

In order to answer the question, whether the agricultural /rural/ youth is an opportunity, or a burden, it should first be established in relation to what or why it is in such a position or another one. The assumption is suggested that first of all the evaluation of the role is involved here which the agricultural /rural/ youth may play in the economic, social and cultural development of the whole of the country at a given variant of development /adopted by choice or by necessity/. Certainly this problem will show another aspect in the countries /or regions of the country/ in which the development is planned, as it most often happens, by intensive urbanisation and industrialisation, then where intesive agriculture and the agricultural-and-food industry is to be the mainspring of development. The answer to this problem, in the countries which make of the socio-economic equalisation of living conditions their fundamental conception of development, may differ from those countries which beforehand assume the existence of socio-economic inequalities considering them to be the condition and driving force of development. Also the adoption of the conception of full employment will have a different impact on the matter and evaluation of the role of agricultural and rural youth, than the adoption of the premiss that there is in being a reserve army of manpower and that it is purposeful to maintain a high number of non-employed or, as it often is the case in agriculture, to maintain a host of only spuriously employed persons in an irrationally overpopulated agriculture.

If we want to present the evaluation of the role which agricultural youth is able to play from the point of view of the tasks

and development purposes of the given society and if we want to seek an answer to the question whether it is an "opportunity" or a "burden", the following fundamental aspects of this problem may be, as I think, enumerated:

- Whether the direction and intesity of geographical mobility of the agricultural youth /quantitative-and-spatial aspect/ coincide with the requirements of the development of the entire national economy /i.e. whether they secure manpower for both industry and services in the cities, and for agriculture and services in the countryside/?

- Whether the ceiling and the intensity of the vertical mobility of the agricultural /rural/ youth favour the modernisation and democratization of the social structure, of the structure of authority, and finally the uniform distribution of the beneficial effects of the socio-economic progress in all regions and social classes /egalitarian-and-ideological aspect/?

- Whether he appearance of the mass category of a population exerting two professions /farmer-workers/ among whom young people predominate is /and to what an extent/ a positive phenomenon both for the development of industry and agriculture, and to what an extent it gives rise to phenomena indesirable or detrimental for the development of the whole society and of the whole economy?

Whether the level of skills, the type of mentality or customs introduced into the development of agriculture by the agricultural /rural/ youth as well as into the newly created or developing industry, and in a wider meaning - into cities, facilitates or renders more difficult, accelerates or delays the process of development according to the pattern of development adopted in the given country /qualitative aspect/?

In social reality these various quantitative and qualitative aspects most often occur jointly and can be isolated only for methodological purposes, in an artificial manner, although one that is necessary for the researcher who cannot investigate everything at once. In the reality of the various countries, and even of the same country in the successive stages of development, the answer and evaluation of the same magnitudes may undergo changes and does so.

The necessity to inhibit the migration processes of rural youth occurs in a typical way in two development stages: in the i n i t i a l stage, when the absence of an absorptive labour market in the cities, the absence of a stock of apartments, and the absence of industry and services makes the retaining of a maximal number of young people in agriculture a preliminary condition for the absence of tensions and difficulties in the few and slowly developing urbanized centres, and at the same time - as the agriculture is primitive - the concentration of the live manpower becomes the only possibility of increasing agricultural production /8/. The same tendency occurs again in the a d v a n c e d stage of development, when the high offer of employment and the urban demand for rural reserves of manpower in cities /industry, construction, services/ sets in motion so strong and mass-sized migration processes to the cities that, on the one hand, social conditions deteriorate in the cities, and on the other agriculture is endangered by being deprived of workers at a pace more rapid than it is possible to replace these workers by a process of the mechanization of production and concentration of the soil.

If rural youth becomes so frequently a source of trouble and a burden this is mainly because migration processes are most often of a spontaneous nature and only with difficulty they can be controlled and directed. The more spontaneously the economy of a country develops, the less planning it contains and the less legislative and institutional mechanisms are there to plan and control the development, the greater disturbances and development difficulties arise around the strong migration tendencies of young people from the countryside.

The matter is the more complicated as, in order to change the tendency of coubtryside youth to emigrate from villages and to make it turn to the advantage of the coutry's development, a synchronized and harmonious development and a process of transformations are necessary occurring simultaneously and to the same extent on both poles of economy: in the city and in the countryside, in industry and agriculture. The departure of young people from the countryside does not induce difficulties and becomes an event without reserve assisting development only when the cities are in time prepared for receiving such a mass of emigrants /flats, working pla-

ces/, and the countryside and agriculture have been prepared in time and equipped for living and producing with a continuously and rapidly shrinking number of workers per unit of area of agriculturally utilised land. In practice it is nearly impossible.

This development harmony is very frequently shaken and the principle of development synchronisation is notoriously deranged /and this is for many causes inevitable in some periods/. Therefore, serious disturbances appear in the development and functioning of cities or of agriculture. Rural youth with its spontaneous and mass emigration tendency becomes then the cause of serious development troubles, and this is capable of being felt as a brake to development.

In the experience of developing countries the plague of slums and bidonvilles is a result of disproportions between the pace of urbanisation conceived as a transportation of a mass of population, particularly of young population, from the countryside to cities and the pace of development of the stock of apartments in cities, and particularly the pace of development of the numbers of working places.

If in a different situation /lack of only apartments, but instead a comprehensive offer of employments/ efficient legal and administrative restrictions are introduced against the "wild" settling of emigrants, this gets in movement a mechanism of pendular migration, in which the inhabitants of villages do not change their place of living, but they cease entirely or partially to work in the countryside /workers and farmer-workers/. The results of this phenomenon are ambivalent, too, both for industry and for agriculture; in the latter, as a result of the pendular migration of males, a process of feminisation of agricultural manpower occurs, as well as a considerable increase of the share in agricultural employment of males at older and post-production age /in Poland, in 1970, nearly one fourth of farms with an area of over 2 hectares are managed by prople 60 or more years old, and the male manpower amounted to 41 per cent of the total of persons employed in agriculture/.

Distinctness of the situation of rural youth in the extensive and intensive phase of development

We have talked so far only about the quantitative side of the problem in which the negative or positive effect of the mass flow of young people from the countryside to the cities and from agriculture to industry, to the building trade and services depended on the synchronisation of offer and demand on the labour market under the aspect of the number of working places in the cities, of the number of apartments and the manpower which had necessarily to be left in agriculture. Experience shows that such a purely quantitative equilibrium and synchronisation of offer and demand in sufficient only in the initial, extensive stages of development of the given country or region, when building /of apartments, production plants, associating investment projects, transportation network, stores, etc./ is the watchword of the day and the main task, and when the numbers of hands, and not the skills requiring special school training do decide. The period when the bases of the new industrial and urban centres are built induces a huge demand for unskilled labour which can be supplied in sufficient numbers by rural and agricultural youth. The initial extensive stage or industrialisation and urbanisation is always a great opportunity for rural youth, and this in turn is always the opportunity of the initial development stage. This period lasts, however, only a short time /longer on the scale of the entire country which is not developed simultaneously and uniformly, and shorter on the scale of a single industrial centre or region/. Sooner or later, but inevitably comes the time when the further development no more requires hands, but skills, real knowledge and aptitudes, additionally confirmed by a diploma or certificate which can be obtained mainly in the course of school education. Initially the young emigrants from villages, who have no such skills, escape by resorting to geographical mobility migrating from one building to another in the same region, abandoning already finished projects in which they are useless and by passing to new investment projects, accompanying ones or begun at a later date, but in the same area. Only an insignificant part of them achieves appropriate skills /mainly at qualification courses and in the system of schools for workers/, enabling them to remain for good in the enterprise built by them. Only in some types of pro-

duction /e.g. mines, particularly open-cast mines/ continually great numbers of persons, so-called quickly trained workers are needed. The more modern and specialized an industrial plant is, the higher the formal demands, and those regarding the skills, that the plant presents to its workers, and the smaller /relatively/ the number of workers it employs.

In 1973, among 2.7 million newly full-time employed workers in Poland, the emigrants from agriculture /i.e. those who previously worked in agriculture/ amounted in total to 12 per cent, but in the industry of fuels to only 3.7 per cent, in the power industry - to 4.3 per cent, in the non-ferrous metals industry - to 4.3 per cent, in engineering - 4.5 per cent, in the electro-engineering and electronic industry - to 3.6 per cent. A higher than average share of emigrants from agriculture was present in: the building materials industry - 16.6 per cent, the wood industry - 16.2 per cent, the feed and utilization industry - 18.2 per cent, and - first of all - the building trade - nearly 20 per cent, and public roads units - 32.6 per cent. Only agricultural enterprises and forestry displayed higher percentage figures; this is understandable and requires no explanation[1]. By the same it appears hat with time the direct passing from agriculture to industry and cities becomes more and more difficult as far as the majority of the branches most promising for the future and those production branches which offer the greatest development prospects are concerned.

A new aspect of the matter appears: to the old problem of the quantitative opportunity the problem of the qualitative opportunity is added. In a more advanced stage of development agricultural youth has the choice of one of two paths of the fulfilment of its migratory tendencies: either to wander about the country in quasi-permanent migration, from place to place, looking out for new building sites still displaying a demand for unskilled manpower, or to enter the competition for acquiring the indispensable and continually increased skills.

Here now begins a moment of development in which - confronted with the necessity to secure to rural youth the education required

[1] The author's own calculations on the basis of /10/.

by the labour market of modern economy - the leaders of the socio-economic development begin to feel this necessity as a very serious burden. This is composed of the following factors. Firstly, it is the most numerous school population. In connection with the rapid drop in the birthrate of the permanent residents of the cities the mass of human reserves in the infantile age classes shifts towards the villages /e.g. in Poland, in 1974, the rural population amounted to 45.4 per cent of the total population, but 50.3 per cent of the 0 - 4 years old children inhabited the countryside, whereas the corresponding figure for the age classes of 5-9 years amounted to 52 per cent, for those of 10-14 years - nearly 53 per cent. Secondly, it is a territorially dispersed population, so that in a country like Poland this amounted for many years to the necessity to maintain in the countryside over 26.000 elementary schools which could not be equipped /from the point of view of the premises, staff and didactics/, on a par with urban schools. In the first period the democratization of education assumes as a premise "the school coming to every child". Only the development of roads and of communications makes it possible to set, in the place of this slogan, a new one: "every child coming to the school" /a centralized, collective school/. This new tendency is illustrated by the fact that in the United States the numbers of schools dropped to one third /in 1930 to 1970/; in the USSR the number of schools nearly halved in the years 1940-1970, and the numbers of schools were reduced by half in the GDR /11, p. 14/.

Irrespective of all qualitative differences in the cultural, family environment etc., these two purely quantitative factors are enough to make the problem of rural education the most important, most difficult, most costly and most troublesome problem of any socio-economic development. At the same time, as urbanization and industrialization rapidly progress in urban centres and agglomerations, a rapid process of an increase in the formal requirements towards workers occurs, and the level for education considered to be the minimal one is raised from 4 to 6 years, then to 7 and 8 years, and finally to 10 years. The process of raising the level of minimal education, which in the long run is a correct and blessed process, by rebound hits: the rural, in particular the agricultural youth. The poorer equipped rural schools that had trouble with main-

taining an equivalent level of teaching in the initial grades, are confronted by an immeasurably more difficult task: to organize a 7-year and then an 8-year obligatory elementary school, and then they have to spread a part of the knowledge previously taught only in full-sized secondary schools. If in this development period the school reform begins to reduce its requirements towards rural schools /shortened or simplified programmes/, it is going to objectively intensify the deterioration of the opportunities of agricultural youth which does not obtain knowledge of full value at the rural school; and by the same it becomes unfit for further education on a level promising a higher career and better living conditions. And if, as it was in many socialist countries, the programme requirements are uniform /just in order to avoid secondary discrimination because of the non-equivalence of school diplomas/, then the rate of school throw-out grows, and the diploma ceases to objectively reflect the level of the pupil's knowledge and, while it is formally equivalent, in life and in practice it is not of equal value /7/. Moreover, as in the countryside the educational changes always occur more slowly than in the cities, in relation to rural youth every real progress achieved in generalising the access to teaching at secondary grades has a much weaker locational force than in relation to urban pupils who make use of this progress more rapidly and more fully.

In the long run /even on the scale of 5 to 10 years/ the socially achieved general increase of the level of education is absorbed by the rapidly advancing process of the rise of requirements for skills in industry and services /12/. In other words, a rural pupil who, with a delay of 5 or 10 years, has achieved an access to education on a level previously inaccessible for him, in the meaning of life opportunities, is able to gain little, as at the same time this level has become a generally required level of education, offering no special privileges. This regularity makes that the migrations extract from the villages a human element that is the most energetic, in its prime and relatively best educated /this having anegative secondary effect for staffing agriculture/. In spite of the above fact, on various socio-professional and skill levels, the share of the migrants, already in the cities, is as a rule greater on the lower than on the higher ranks of various socio-professional and skill levels, the share of the migrants, already in the cities,

is as a rule greater on the lower than on the higher ranks of various socio-professional and skill levels. The level of education of those who remain in agriculture improves very slowly. We supply an example based on Polish macrostatistics /1970/. The emigrants from the countryside /who left it during the past 10 years/ amounted to 34.8 per cent of the total inhabitants of cities, but they amounted to only 10.8 per cent of those earning their living and 11.9 per cent of those working outside of agriculture; the others continued to earn their living from or work in agriculture, but they live in the cities. Among people working outside of agriculture, the newcomers from the countryside had the greatest share in the category of manual workers /14.4 per cent/. Among intellectual workers they had a share of only 8.7 per cent, and one of 5.5 per cent in handicraft and those who work on their own account. The same regularity may be noted when the share of the emigrants from the countryside in the various groups of education is analysed. In 1970 they amounted in the cities to 8.5 per cent of all persons with the 3rd group of education /university-level, non-completed university-level education and post-matriculation studies/, to 11.5 per cent of persons of the 2nd degree of education /secondary, non-completed secondary and basic vocational education/ and 13.5 per cent of the persons with the 1st degree of education /full elementary school/. Only in the lowest group of persons with education within the range of non-completed elementary school this share decreased again to 9.2 per cent; this yields only the evidence for the earlier mentioned regularity that the migrational opportunities are higher for persons with a relatively high education as for rural conditions[1].

At the same time the structure of education of those employed in Polish agriculture underwent, as a matter of fact, very slow improvements, but it continued to be much worse than the structure of education of those employed outside of agriculture. The percentage of persons with an education exceeding the elementary level[2] working in industry amounted to 37.2 per cent, and in agriculture it amounted to 8.07 per cent /in individual farm - 5.26 per cent/.

Whereas in the entire 15 and more years old population of Poland there were 2.7 per cent of persons with university-level edu-

[1] The author's own calculations on the basis of /13/.
[2] The notion "elementary education" means here the compulsory 8-year general education of the elementary degree.

cation, /in individual farming only 1.47 per cent/. There were 48.8 per cent of persons in Poland having elementary and incomplete secondary education /in individual farming - 42.8 per cent/.But there were twice as many, as 45.12 per cent of persons in agriculture that had not concluded elementary education and as many as 7.2 per cent of persons without any school education /as a matter of fact the latter category did not occur at all/[1].

Agriculture is deprived of the best educated people by migration to the cities. This is evidenced by the facts, established by Izaaław Grankel, that even among people who had acquired a special agricultural education, 57.2 per cent of those with university-level education, 63.7 per cent with incomplete university-level education, and 49.1 per cent of those with secondary and 52.3 per cent of those with incomplete secondary education in 1970 were employed outside of agriculture.

If we compare the data on the structure of the education of inhabitants of the countryside with the data on the structure of the education of emigrants from the countryside, the suggested conclusion may be formulated as follows: the emigrants from the countryside are a group possessing a much higher level of education than those who remain in the village, nevertheless the emigrants later, at the new place of residance, have a much greater share in the low categories of education. Speaking less precisely, but more imaginatively, the emigrants from the countryside are recruited from a sui generis rural elite; the latter, however, in cities, is placed mostly on the lower rungs of the socio-professional and educational ladder. The situation improves as younger age classes are involved, but it is still far from full proportionality. Thus, for instance, 20 to 24 years old people from the countryside amounted to 15.6 per cent of all persons having university-level, incomplete university-level and post-secondary education /that is in this group of education they were five times better represented than those from the countryside at the age of 40 to 59 years/, but there were still

[1] The author's own calculations on the basis of /9, p.64; p. 172/ and of the Statistical Yearbook of the Educational System 1973/74, Central Statistical Office /GUS/, Warsaw, 1974, p. 2.

twice les of than the newcomers from cities whose share amounted to 32.6 per cent of all those who had a 3rd degree education, living in a city in 1970[1].

For general development the observation cannot be indifferent that the migrations of rural youth "drain" from the countryside the best element that could play the role of the germ of more rapid cultural and socio-economic changes in the countryside in order, by its assistance, to widen, first of all, the basis of the ordinary inhabitants of the cities, without exerting on their life a greater influence.

What a mance does the "ruralisation" of the urban population present?

What are, however, the consequences of such a situation for the cities? What is for the development of industry and cities becoming the fact that every third inhabitant of the cities has been born in the countryside, and more than every tenth present-time inhabitant of a city has arrived from the countryside only during the last 10 years? The answer to this question requires to take the risk of offering an answer to other questions: which are the consciousness traits, which attitudes and cultural habits are the ones with which the "rusticity" of a man's descent is correlated and in particular his descent from the peasant class? Here we have to abandon the area of macrostatistics and to use the results of empirical sociological researches /monographic, representative etc./. Anything that will be said further cannot be of a higher rank that of very cautious hypotheses, the more cautious that in social practice and in journalism two antagonistic tendencies occur on this subject mythologising reality. One of them consists in the belief having its roots in Rousseau's philosophy, the belief in the higher value of what is "natural", cloce to nature, non polluted by civilisation, technology and urbanisation, and that is enhanced by the traditions of political popular movements and the at present vivid trends to protect natural environment and conducts to the idealization of "rusticity", peasant health and strength, laboriousness, reason and

[1] The author's own calculations on the basis of /14/.

common sense, healthy morality etc. These traits allegedly make everything "rural"or "peasant" ipso facto good or better.

The second tendency is the opposite one, resting with its roots in gentlemanly and aristocratic or bourgeois thinking.It makes rusticity and peasant mentality tantamount to backwardness,obscurantism, barbaric habits, coarse clothing and culture, conservatism and prejudice. These features ought now to cause everything rural and peasant to be worse, baser, backward and egotistic. The advocates of the first methology will be, of course, inclined to see rural youth only the opportunity for the development of the entire country, those of the second mythology will see in this youth only a burden and brake od development.

As in the case of any mythology, it may be said of both that they are incorrect, and that is why they are mythologies. However, everyone of them contains, as usual, a bit of truth, as otherwise they would find no adherents and advocates at all. Now, what do we know by virtue of researches?

By necessity we have to limit our remarks to a few selected domains the influence of which on the attitude to life, attitude to work and to the manner of fulfilling social tasks of a general nature that are important for general development, is at least debatable. It has to be said in advance that the rural place of residence /or of origin/ of the respondent in empirical investigations,in most cases within the range of attitudes, convictions etc. proves to be a variable with a much less important significance than it would result from the two opposite, earlier quoted mythologies /both as a fad for peasants and as peasant-phobia/, particularly as in practice it is extremely difficult to distinguish what is the result of the "rusticity" of the respondent, and what is only the secondary effect of the lower level of education which, as I wrote earlier, a s rule characterises the inhabitants of the countryside. This thesis can be illustrated by the interesting result of a study by A.Kobus-Wojciechowska /14, p. 245/ who has calculated the parameters[1] of the "contribution" which various socio-demographic features had among industrial workers as far as the reading of books

[1] J.S. Coleman's so-called "model of multi-variable analysis" was the implement of this measurement.

Table 3. Influence of various traits of respondents on their reading of books and periodicals

Influence of	Reading	
	of periodicals	of books
Incomes	0.01	0.04
Peasant or non-peasant descent	0,23	0.18
Education /elementary completed or non-completed/	0.12	0.12
Education /non-completed secondary or elementary/	0.27	0.47
Other factors /random/	0.37	0.25

and periodicals is concerned. The indices supplied in table 3 define the share /from 0 - lack of influence, to 1 - total and exclusive influence/ of the various features of the respondent to his passing from the state of non-reading to the state of reading books and periodicals. It is a rare attempt at measuring the influence of the social origin on cultural activity. The influence of peasant origin on reading proved to be high and it amounts to more or less one fifth. However, the influence of the level of education, particularly with the dichotomy: elementary education - secondary education, is even greater. The fact may be of interest that the index obtained by Kobus-Wojciechowska for the share of social origin in the incidence of reading of workers exactly corresponding with the index, established much earlier by Wall, Olson and Shonel /15, p. 61 and foll./, i.e. the index of the influence of family relationships on the development of the intelligence and capabilities of the child, amounting to 20 per cent.

Within the range of political opinions and the outlook on life empirical research seems to prove only that rural, and particularly agricultural origin is in connection with a greater frequency and higher regularity of religious practices and religious convictions /M. Szeniawska, Z. Skórzyńska /16/, M. Kozakiewicz /17/, A. Pawełczyńska /18/, E. Ciupak /19/, with a higher level of moral

rigorism /Z. Skórzyńska /16/, M. Kozakiewicz /17/, Wł. Piwowarski /17a/ and a higher degree of declared obedience to religious standards, e.g. for the accepted number of children, the practices of birth control, of induced abortion etc. /Z. Smoliński /20//.

The investigation into the political attitudes and convictions seemed to lead most researchers to the conclusion that young people from the countryside, to a greater extent than their equals in cities, lack clear and crystallized political views, but among those who have such views, the differences on the axis "city-village" are neither too flagrant, nor too clear-cut. However, the remark by A. Pawełczyńska /18/ refers to all these observations: when writting about the greater religiousness of the inhabitants of the countryside she added: The feeble intesity of this relationship enables to drew the conclusion that, at the time of the development of mass media, geographical distances play no decisive role.

It may be assumed that in countries, less well provided with mass media, these differentiations will be greater, but the development trend seems everywhere to bring about the homogenization of attitudes, tendencies and aspirations of the inhabitants of villages and cities. This conclusion is corroborated by a number of other, empirical investigations, e.g. concerning the attitude of rural youth to work, the choice of a profession etc. The investigations of Z. Sufin /21/ showed, e.g., the high degree of concordance of the attitudes of the inhabitants of the countryside and of cities towards work as a value; this was expressed in a similar educational pattern: /.../ the children have to be, first of all, honest, resourceful and ought to attain a high intellectual level; in a similar hierarchy of professions /the same was shown by A. Sarapata /22 p.141/ and W. Wesołowski /23, p.176; 24/ and a similarly low appreciation of praxeological values /precision and inventiveness in work/. The only difference, as far as the attitudes towards work as a value are concerned, seems to be, in the countryside, a higher appreciation of "social activity" /Z. Sufin /21// and a lower estimation of "solidarity with co-workers"; this is in connection with the individual character of a farmer's work. The other aspects of work were valued and defined nearly identically. A really clear-cut difference, testified to by many researchers, appeared in the motivation for work for which, for countryside people and tho-

se coming from agriculture, material interest plays a greater role than intellectual satisfactions. The same was noted when the motives of the choice of profession in vocational schools were analysed, where the expectance for better wages was of the greatest importance for countryside pupils, particularly those of agricultural origin /farmers and state farm workers/ /25/. The absence of greater differences between rural and urban youth was formulated e x p r e s s i s v e r b i s also by B. Weber /26/. When studying the views, the aspirations for one's life and the personal patterns, she found only a few matters in which the "rusticity" of young people seemed to exert an influence on the attitudes, views and convictions of young people. In the light of the conclusions of this author rural youth is more prone than urban youth to be contented with the role of a performer than with that of a leader. Manifestly, more frequently than urban youth, rural youth more highly appreciates a quiet life than an agitated one, and to lesser extent than its urban equals it is inclined to take chances for the attainment of its aims. T h e d i f f e r e n t i a t i o n o f v i e w s a n d a s p i r a t i o n s i s, h o w e v e r, w r i t e s B. W e b e r, s l i g h t; i t m a y b e s a i d, s u r p r i s i n g l y s l i g h t.

Even if it were assumed that the features of rural youth, repeating in many researches /greater attachment to religious tradition, less well defined political views, greater sensitivity to material motivation and a less strong resonance to more refined and disinterested motivations, finally the stronger proneness to implement in life rather modest ambitions which contain no element of risk, and - generally speaking - a mood of reasonable cautiousness and restraint/ are really the distinctive features that could exert an influence on the general socio-economic development, as soon as the inflow of youth, thinking just like that, becomes a mass event-it does not seem that this influence is too great and that it causes such a dilemma as that formulated in the heading of the present article. Thus the mythological personality distinctnesses of rural or agricultural youth are not the causes of the circumstance that this youth may be once an opportunity, and another time a burden for the entire country, which latter aims as a whole to a harmonious and integrated development. The problem depends much more on the fact whether the entire socio-economic development in the given

country is strong and dynamic enough to induce corresponding changes /also indirect ones/ in the situation of the villages and their inhabitants, and at the same time whether the whole of the country or the region develop in a planned way and in a sufficiently controlled way, so as not to create excessive spatial and social distances and developmental disproportions which inevitably cause equalising spontaneous processes, mainly on the plane of spontaneous and mass transfers of human masses.

The reality negative trait of young people from the countryside coming to the cities and to industry does, as a matter of fact, not consist in the difference of attitudes and convictions /as these rapidly become uniform/, but mainly in the insufficient equipment with general and special knowledge; this renders their full utilization difficult, and - in case of their compulsory employment /because of the lack of other candidates/ has a detrimental effect on the quality of production and appears in material losses and a quicker wear of implements. That is why the skilful use of the instrument of education and school training, the equilisation of educational opportunities of rural and urban youth are only in part an ideological problem /that of justice, equality/. Moreover, it is a serious economic problem, involving both the decrease of the costs of the transition of the inhabitants of the countryside to cities and industry, and also the use of the school system as a switching-station and a controlling point for the flow of young people who want to migrate and will do it. The point is to direct this flow not only from the quantitative, but also qualitative point of view, adapting it and directing it where it ought to be in agreement with the integrated development. The taking into account of the needs of both the countryside and of the cities, of industry and of agriculture is a fundamental condition of the harmonious and integrated development of the entire coutry.

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